

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 HA-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00  
INRE-00 ICAE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 /078 W  
-----108603 161729Z /53

O P 161716Z AUG 78

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9188  
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

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E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PDEV, SF, SW, UN  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: MEETING WITH SHIPANGA

SUMMARY: AT THE URGING OF HIS SUPPORTERS, SHIPANGA IS RETURNING TO NAMIBIA AUGUST 27. HE HAS TWICE SEEN THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR HERE WHERE HE OUTLINED HIS POSITION ON WALVIS BAY AND POLITICAL DETAINEES AS WELL AS REJECTING FOR THE MOMENT AN INVITATION TO MEET WITH PIK BOTHA. SHIPANGA WILL MAINTAIN THE INDEPENDENCE OF SWAPO/D BUT CONTINUE A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH NNF. SHIPANGA IS PLANNING TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES IN MID-SEPTEMBER AND ASKED FOR USG ASSISTANCE.

SHIPANGA SENSES THAT POLITICS IN NAMIBIA ARE IN FLUX AND THAT HIS PRESENCE IN WINDHOEK COULD FORGE SIGNIFICANT REALIGNMENTS AMONG THE PARTIES. HE IS EAGER TO DEMONSTRATE HIS INDEPENDENCE OF THE SOUTH

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AFRICANS, BUT WHATEVER RELATIONSHIP EMERGES, THE SOUTH AFRICANS PROBABLY SEE SHIPANGA AS A KIND OF GREAT OVAMBO HOPE THAT MIGHT EVENTUALLY PROVE THE UNDOING OF NUJOMA WITHOUT SACRIFICING INTERNATIONAL CREDIBILITY.  
END SUMMARY.

1. EMBASSY OFFICER SAW ANDREAS AND ESME SHIPANGA

AUGUST 16. SHIPANGA ANNOUNCED THAT HE PLANS TO RETURN TO NAMIBIA ON AUGUST 27 AND TO REMAIN THERE FOR ABOUT TWO WEEKS. HE SAID HE RECOGNIZED BOTH THE PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL RISKS INVOLVED BUT THE URGINGS OF HIS SUPPORTERS LEFT HIM LITTLE CHOICE. ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL STEYN HAS ASSURED HIS SAFETY AND SWAPO/D REPRESENTATIVES IN SWEDEN HAVE ALREADY RETURNED TO WINDHOEK TO ESTABLISH OFFICES THERE. OTHER EXILES ARE RETURNING FROM AMERICA, KENYA, GREECE AND INDIA TO WORK FOR THE ORGANIZATION. SHIPANGA SAID HE WOULD PREFER TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER ATHISAARI'S REPORT HAD BEEN ACCEPTED AND A UN MANDATE HAD PASSED THE SECURITY COUNCIL, BUT POLITICAL MOMENTUM SUGGESTS HE RETURN BEFORE THE END OF THE MONTH. AND FRANKLY, HE ADMITTED, HE IS FRUSTRATED BY "EXILE POLITICS".

2. SHIPANGA STATED OPENLY THAT HE HAS TWICE SEEN SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR MATTHYS BOTHA HERE, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE INSISTING THAT THE MEETING TAKE PLACE IN A PUBLIC RESTAURANT. HE DID NOT GO INTO DETAIL ABOUT THE ENCOUNTERS BUT GAVE HIS IMPRESSION THAT THE AMBASSADOR WAS TRYING TO GET THE MEASURE OF THE MAN, PRESUMABLY ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRETORIA. SHIPANGA IS CERTAIN THE SAG WILL ACCEPT ATHISAARI'S REPORT AND ALLOW THE WESTERN PROPOSALS TO GO INTO EFFECT. NOR WILL WALVIS BAY BE A MAJOR OBSTACLE (SHIPANGA SAID HE

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STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON WALVIS BAY AND THAT HE WOULD RECOMMEND A TREATY COMMITMENT BY AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA TO NEUTRALIZE THE ENCLAVE IN EXCHANGE FOR ITS REINTEGRATION INTO NAMIBIA). THE SAG AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED TO SHIPANGA THAT HE MEET WITH PIK BOTHA WHEN HE TRANSITS JOHANNESBURG ON HIS RETURN TO NAMIBIA, BUT SHIPANGA REJECTED THE OFFER AS PREMATURE. SHIPANGA RECOMMENDED TO MATTHYS BOTHA THAT ALL NAMIBIAN DETAINEES BE RELEASED PROMPTLY AND UNCONDITIONALLY (SHIPANGA SAID THAT YA TOIVO WOULD OF COURSE BE FREE TO DO AS HE WISHED IN NAMIBIAN POLITICS BUT NOTED THEY CAME FROM THE SAME VILLAGE. HE ALSO ESTIMATED THERE WERE 1800 SWAPO DETAINEES IN ZAMBIA.)

3. SHIPANGA WILL NOT ARRIVE IN WINDHOEK WITH GRAND PRONOUNCEMENTS. HE WANTS TO SEE FOR HIMSELF HOW NAMIBIA HAS EVOLVED IN THE FIFTEEN YEARS OF HIS ABSENCE. STILL, SHIPANGA EXPECTS HIS RETURN COULD HAVE A CATALYTIC EFFECT ON POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS INSIDE THE COUNTRY, CERTAINLY WITHIN THE DTA AND POSSIBLY WITHIN SWAPO/INTERNAL AS WELL. FOR THE MOMENT, SHIPANGA

WANTS HIS OWN SWAPO/DEMOCRATS TO OPERATE INDEPENDENTLY  
BUT IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE NNF. HE DID NOT RULE  
OUT EVENTUALLY JOINING THE FRONT BUT HE FIRST WANTS TO  
KEEP A DISTANCE TO SEE WHERE HIS OWN STRENGTH MAY LIE.  
HE ADMITTED THAT ORGANIZING HIS PARTY WILL COST MONEY

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BUT HE HOPES TO FIND SOURCES IN AMERICA, BRITAIN, AND  
GERMANY.

4. SHIPANGA HAD LITTLE GOOD TO SAY ABOUT NUJOMA. HE  
NOTED NUJOMA'S IMMEDIATE DEPARTURE FOR MOSCOW FOLLOWING  
THE CONTACT GROUP MEETING IN LUANDA. HE SAID NUJOMA  
OPPOSED THE RELEASE OF ALL DETAINEES WHO MIGHT  
CHALLENGE HIM AND HAD ALREADY EXPOSED HIS TYRANNICAL  
STREAK "EVEN BEFORE REACHING STATE HOUSE".

5. AFTER HIS TWO WEEKS IN NAMIBIA, SHIPANGA PLANS TO  
RETURN TO LONDON. HE THEN WANTS TO TRAVEL TO THE  
UNITED STATES WHEREHE HAS AN INVITATION TO SPEAK AT THE

NEW YORK COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS. LACKING FUNDS,  
HE ASKED WHETHER HE MIGHT QUALIFY FOR SOME FORM OF USG  
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VISITOR'S GRANT. EMBASSY OFFICER SAID HE WOULD FIND  
OUT AND BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH HIM.

6. COMMENT: SHIPANGA SHOWED HIS POLITICAL SAVVY MORE  
ON THIS OCCASION THAN ON HIS FIRST VISIT TO THE  
EMBASSY. HE IS AN IMPRESSIVE MAN, AND HIS WIFE, WHOSE  
INFLUENCE IS APPARENT, IS EQUALLY IMPRESSIVE. THERE IS  
CONSIDERABLE COURAGE IN SHIPANGA'S DECISION TO RUN THE  
RISKS OF RETURNING TO NAMIBIA NOW BUT HE KNOWS IT'S  
THE BEST CARD HE HAS TO PLAY AND ESTIMATES THAT THE  
SOONER PLAYED THE BETTER. HE SENSES THAT POLITICS IN  
NAMIBIA ARE IN FLUX AND THAT HIS PRESENCE IN WINDHOEK  
COULD FORGE SIGNIFICANT REALIGNMENTS. WE ALSO ASSUME  
HE WAS ASSURED BY AMBASSADOR BOTHA THAT HIS REENTRY  
INTO NAMIBIA POLITICS WOULD NOT BE TORPEDOED BY SOUTH  
AFRICA'S LAST-MINUTE REJECTION OF THE WESTERN PROPOSALS.

7. SHIPANGA IS AWARE THAT EFFORTS WILL BE MADE TO  
PICTURE HIM AS A SOUTH AFRICAN PUPPET, THE SITHOLE OR  
CHIRAU OF NAMIBIA. HIS CANDID ADMISSION OF CONTACTS  
WITH MATTHYS BOTHA HERE, HIS POSITION ON NAMIBIAN  
DETAINEES IN SOUTH AFRICA, HIS SUPPORT FOR THE SC  
RESOLUTION ON WALVIS BAY AND HIS REJECTION OF AN EARLY  
MEETING WITH PIK BOTHA ARE CONSCIOUS DEMONSTRATIONS BY  
HIM OF HIS POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE. AT THE SAME TIME,  
WHATEVER RELATIONSHIP EMERGES, THE SOUTH AFRICANS  
PROBABLY SEE SHIPANGA AS A KIND OF GREAT OVAMBO HOPE  
THAT MIGHT EVENTUALLY PROVE THE UNDOING OF NUJOMA  
WITHOUT SACRIFICING INTERNATIONAL CREDIBILITY.

8. WE WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE ON SHIPANGA'S REQUEST  
FOR ASSISTANCE IN TRAVELING TO THE STATES.

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PDEV, SF, SW, WA, UN, (SHIPANGA, ANDREAS)  
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